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## VOTERS' VETO TO BE LAUNCHED IN SWAFFHAM

Peace News Reporter

SWAFFHAM, the small Norfolk town near to which the demonstrations against the North Pickenham missile base took place in December, is to see the opening out of the campaign against nuclear weapons into the political field.

Tomorrow (Saturday) members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War (who only last week were freed from prison where they had spent 14 days for their part in the non-violent obstruction at the missile base) will be in the market place at Swaffham as novelist Ethel Mannin launches the Voters Veto project.

The idea behind Voters Veto is to make certain that the H-bomb is the central issue at the forthcoming by-election in S.W. Norfolk. Residents in the area will be asked to support whichever candidate undertakes to vote against nuclear weapons or—failing a clear statement to do so by any of the candidates—not to vote at all.

After the meeting which opens at three o'clock 15 to 20 supporters of the Direct Action Council will start a door-to-door canvass.

### American domination

Swaffham was also in the news last Friday when Dr. John Weston Wells, who took part in the first demonstration at the North Pickenham base, asked a Labour Party "Any Questions" team what measures they would take to reduce the peril of nuclear war.

One of the members of the team, Lord Wise, a former Mayor and MP for Kings Lynn, with a record of service in the Army and RAF during two world wars, said:

"I think the best method we can adopt as a nation to reduce the peril of nuclear war would be to ask the Americans to go home. I think if we do that, then the possibility of our being involved in a war would very much lessen.

"Personally I take a very dim view indeed of the way this country has to face up to what the Americans dictate to us. I also take a dim view of the nuclear sites being occupied in our country."

"There is no peril of war between Russia and Britain or between America and

● ON BACK PAGE

## Work Camps and Holiday Number

ALSO INSIDE:

	page
The United Nations Emergency Force	2
Mr. K's 7-year plan	4
Letters	5
A Peacemaker gets to Congress	8
Pacifists and Tariffs	8
Fenner Brockway, MP	9
Sybil Morrison on germ warfare	10

# NIEMOLLER, sued by German War Minister, tells— WHY I SAY "NO" TO WAR

"PEACE must be possible, the alternative is annihilation," Pastor Niemoller, the German Church leader and former U-boat commander, who has been issued with a writ by the West German War Minister following criticisms of commando training, told a public meeting in Glasgow on Saturday.

Peace was now a pre-condition of human existence, he said.

## GERM WEAPONS Campaign to end manufacture

Peace News Reporter

THE Labour group on the Amesbury (Wilts) Rural District Council requested last week that the Medical Officer of Health be asked to give an assurance that the activities of the Porton Microbiological Research Establishment did not endanger the health of the inhabitants of the district.

The question was raised by Austin Underwood, the leader of the Labour group. He asked whether the MoH was satisfied that noxious organisms could not enter the water supply now or in the future?

The Chairman of the Council said he would not allow the Medical Officer to answer the question. Mr. Underwood, he thought, was trying, perhaps unintentionally, to frighten the district.

Austin Underwood replied: "It is the people of Porton who are trying to frighten us. There is nothing dishonourable about being frightened of something which could kill the world."

Later he read a statement on behalf of himself and the other members of the Labour group. It read:

"The statements made by Sir Robert Watson-Watt and Dr. Brock Chisholm, former Director-General of the World Health Organisation, regarding the deliberate production of botulinus toxin and other lethal bacteria, viruses and toxins at the Microbiological Research Establishment at Porton have been confirmed by the statement of the Minister of Supply in answer to questions in the House of Commons. Whilst the Minister seeks to reduce the significance and impact on the public of the statements made by two eminent scientists, for the people of the Amesbury Rural District in whose area the establishment is situated, the extremely great health hazard of the Microbiological Research Establishment remains.

"We protest at the deliberate production of lethal toxins and bacteria at the establishment and demand that the Ministry of Supply gives their immediate assurance on the safety of the inhabitants of our rural district to our Medical Officer of Health.

"This assurance must be given with the following possibilities of accidental release of such lethal organisms and substances borne in mind:

- (a) Aeroplane crashes—Boscombe Down runway of the A & AEE ends only just over a mile away.
- (b) An internal accident or explosion.
- (c) Pollution of the atmosphere.
- (d) Pollution of water supplies.

"We are particularly concerned with the

"The modern nuclear weapon is the logical successor of the gun and the bow and arrow."

If the present "modern" weapon was evil then it followed that the steps which had led to it were also evil.

It was when this dawned upon him in 1954 that he saw clearly that he must renounce all weapons and become a pacifist.

War had always been man's final resource in settling disputes, but since it became possible for one Power to destroy not only his enemy but also himself and all mankind the way of war had ended.

The possession of vast military power had made its possessors impotent.

"The Algerians can make war but the Americans dare not; the Koreans can make war, but the Russians cannot," he said.

"The nation that relies on great power today is dreaming at noonday."

Dr. Niemoller was unable to comment to Peace News on the writ that had been issued other than to say that he had been mis-reported.

According to The Times the German War Ministry allege that Dr. Niemoller told a pacifist rally that the training of people to hold positions of military command must be regarded as advanced schooling for professional criminals.

Dr. Niemoller was, in fact, not referring to positions of military command but to the training of "commandos." He was asking Christians and Christian mothers whether they approved of this.

The Times report Dr. Niemoller as saying that commando training was harmless compared with atomic weapons.

The meeting in Glasgow was organised by the Scottish Fellowship of Reconciliation. On the following day Dr. Niemoller preached in Trinity Church, Glasgow, and the Coats Memorial Baptist Church, Paisley.

"His sermon in Trinity Church was unequivocally pacifist," Peace News was told.



**FLASHBACK** A protest demonstration in 1953 is halted at a hastily-erected timber and barbed-wire barricade near Britain's germ warfare factory at Porton. Holding the poster "Mankind is one family" is Michael Randle, now Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. Mrs. Dorothy Glaister (on his right) and Miss Edith Adlam (on his left) both took part in the recent Swaffham demonstration. Tom Wardle, then on Peace News staff, told the police, security officials and soldiers, gathered near the barrier, "We come to exercise our democratic right to find out what is being done at Porton. If you tell us Porton exists for the purpose of fighting disease nobody would be more pleased than ourselves. But if so, why this secrecy? Why this wooden curtain? And why do you function under the Ministry of Supply and not under the Ministry of Health?" The demonstrators, members of the Non-violent Resistance Group, later marched through Salisbury where hundreds attended a big meeting in the Market Square.



# NEW FRONTIERS OF PEACE

By James Avery Joyce

WHEN the present writer was last in Jerusalem, about four years ago, he recalls kneeling on the floor of his hotel room, with several enormous maps of the chaotically indented frontiers of Israel spread out before him.

Standing wistfully above him, explaining the meaning of the more obscure markings, Commander Hutchinson, then Chairman of the UN Mixed Armistice Commission, said to the writer:

"The real trouble with these so-called frontier 'raids' is that, at many points, nobody yet knows where the legal boundary is; no one on earth can prevent these constant infiltrations from one side or the other until headquarters demarcates the actual armistice line in a way which leaves no doubt as to where it is."

Two years ago this artificial, illogical, and often invisible line gave way altogether and the abortive Suez War began and finished on these same frontiers of violence. But to-day, along the southern edges of Israel, the peace is unbroken. The policemen of the United Nations stand guard and the infiltrators have strangely vanished away.

## fragile line

A simple ditch, three feet wide and three feet deep, indelibly marks the official Armistice Demarcation Line between the Gaza Strip and Israel. It runs from the Mediterranean Sea, just north of the town of Gaza, south-east to a point about five miles inland, and then turns sharply to the south-west, parallel to the shoreline.

From the beach this man-made furrow disappears into the sand dunes for two to three miles, then reappears in the ground again, stretching across the undulating landscape, crossing a ploughed meadow, and traverses barren fields and orange groves until, after 30 miles, it again runs into the sand. At Rafan it emerges again to join the International Frontier which runs due south from the sea, dividing Egypt and the Gaza Strip and then separating Israel from Egypt until it reaches the Gulf of Aqaba, 140 miles away from the Mediterranean.

Along this fragile Demarcation Line and the International Frontier the peace army

of the United Nations Emergency Force—some 5,000 strong—have been stationed since early 1957. Their immediate task is, of course, to maintain peaceful conditions following Israel's withdrawal from Egypt and the Gaza Strip. But their permanent significance to the outside world is greater still.

With the experience gained in the establishment and operation of UNEF, Dag Hammarskjöld told the recent session of the UN General Assembly in New York, "There is neither reason nor excuse for us to be unprepared to meet any emergency requiring similar treatment." The UN Assembly congratulated Hammarskjöld on the "effective way" UNEF continued to

When UNEF intercepts suspected infiltrators they are usually handed over to the local police. Thus the "glamour" is taken out of the exploit. What a different story from the recurrent bloodshed of earlier years and the situation which still prevails often along Israel's northern and eastern frontiers.

Suspected violations of the unfortified line are immediately reported by telephone, and United Nations observers are sent to the spot to investigate. Their findings are referred to the Government authorities concerned in the United Arab Republic or Israel or both, and to the UN Headquarters if the matter is urgent. Thus the UN and the two responsible Governments are kept directly in touch through the Egyptian Liaison Staff in Gaza and the UNEF Liaison Officer stationed in Cairo, and likewise through liaison officers in Tel Aviv and Beirut. The main UNEF supply centre is at Pisa, Italy.

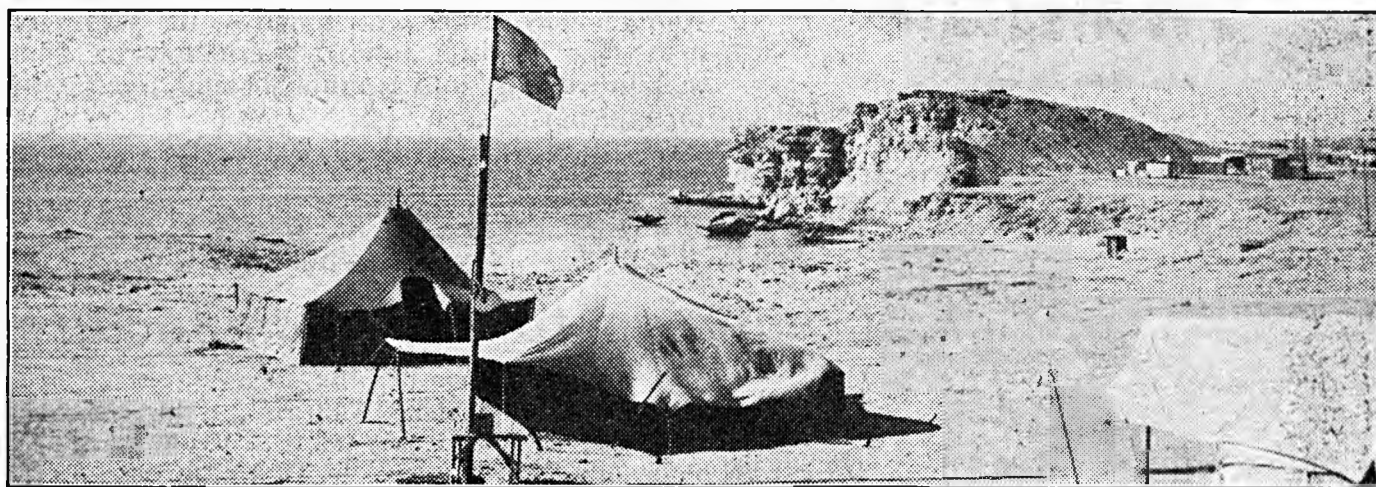
The national contingents share respon-

planes and helicopters overhead. Air patrols are maintained by a Canadian Transport unit utilising four Otter planes.

## how UNEF relaxes

What of the human side of this little-publicised venture in peace-keeping?

The men are young and enthusiastic, but far from home and in unfamiliar circumstances. Sentry duty in the hot desert is both tough and boring. As much as possible, therefore, is being done to relieve their monotony and to bring individual soldiers from different countries together, so that they can share a common experience and get to know one another. UNEF has a common bond in "The Sand Dune," a truly unique weekly newspaper, published by the men themselves to keep them up to date on the activities of their own and other units.



The unfortified frontier ends at the coast, after 140 miles of peace.

Photo: United Nations.

carry out its functions, and approved a sum of \$19,000,000 for its operation during the year 1959.

This remarkable force is virtually unarmed. Its strength is moral, not military. Its members carry light weapons only, to be used solely in cases of self-defence or to bring marauders to justice—like many civilian policemen.

The total strength of UNEF is at present drawn from seven countries: Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden and Yugoslavia. None of the Nuclear Powers—USA, USSR or the United Kingdom—may participate. Earlier, Colombian, Finnish and Indonesian contingents also served with UNEF and other national contingents are expected from time to time. Each contingent is rotated after 6 to 12 months, and all are volunteers. There is a waiting list of men who want to join. National uniforms are worn, but are distinguished by UNEF badges and light blue berets and helmets—all badges of peace with honour.

## rare incidents

Who is the chief of the world's first Peace Army? Lt-Gen. E. L. M. Burns, of Canada, was appointed by the General Assembly and has commanded the force since its inception. He is directly responsible for its functioning to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld.

The success of this unprecedented UN mission to one of the earth's danger zones was reported by General Burns to the Political Committee of the last Assembly in New York with characteristic modesty and brevity. He said: "In the watchful presence of a chain of UNEF sentries the Arab inhabitants of the Strip are cultivating their lands and grazing their flocks up to within a few metres of the Demarcation Line, while on the other side of the Line the inhabitants of the Israeli settlements are going about their agricultural operations and neither side interferes with the other."

General Burns' statement has been fully borne out by the fact that, since the deployment of his Force, only rare incidents of violence or shooting have been reported.

sibility for keeping the peace. Gaza has been divided into five sectors, corresponding to the Egyptian police districts, so as to facilitate co-operation with the local authorities. Brazilian, Danish, Indian, Norwegian and Swedish units are stationed in the Gaza Strip, while the Canadians and Yugoslavs cover the International Frontier to the south, from Gaza to the Gulf of Aqaba. Units from two of the contingents, Sweden and Denmark, share duties at Sharm el-Sheikh, a somewhat bleak observation post 250 miles south of Gaza, but overlooking the important shipping channel leading into the Gulf of Aqaba.

## patrolling in the sand

There were few incidents along this long frontier during 1958. The duty of the sentries and patrols is to see that no one crosses illegally and to report any activity which could result in disturbance of the peace. There are now 76 observation posts on the Gaza side of the ditch from which the 35-mile-long Demarcation Line is guarded during the day. (It is unfortunately still the case that Israel refuses to allow UNEF to operate on Israeli soil, in accordance with the UN Assembly resolution.)

These posts are manned normally by teams of two men working in shifts of up to six hours. The posts are usually within sight of each other and are linked by field telephones. Most of the "posts" are little more than round holes dug in the sand, flanked by sandbags and roofed by corrugated iron or tenting as protection against the sun and the occasional rains. During the night, when it is not so easy to watch the Line from fixed positions, small teams of about five men are continually patrolling on foot—not too simple an exercise in the deep sand.

In addition, reconnaissance units in scout cars and jeeps patrol the uninhabited area along the International Frontier south from Gaza to the Gulf of Aqaba. These patrols are carried out in the daytime, while several observation posts are encamped on strategic hills and at important track junctions. Continuous radio contact is maintained between the patrols and their battalion headquarters, as well as with UNEF reconnaissance

All the members of the force are entitled to three days leave every month and for every three months of service they are given seven days of leave, for which the United Nations naturally pays. For the winter UNEF has set up a leave centre in Cairo, and in the summer there is another centre in Alexandria, or, conditions permitting, in Lebanon, where the cool months provide a welcome relief from the desert.

At these centres UNEF is now renting several hotels for the exclusive use of some 300 soldiers at a time. There the men receive full board and lodging, and can enjoy extensive sight-seeing tours at reasonable cost and sports events. Dances are held several times a week, while, at the appropriate seasons, swimming is available at nearby beaches. With cinema shows and periodic visits from professional entertainers the men on guard are by no means cut off from the lighter amenities of civilisation.

## alternative to war?

As the United Nations Emergency Force enters its third year of existence "incidents" are even more rare. General Burns attributes this gratifying situation simply to the fact: "The reason why nothing happens is because the sentry is there."

Similarly, Dag Hammarskjöld told the General Assembly's Political Committee: "Under present circumstances there is no question but that the interests of the United Nations are best served by the continuance of this UNEF operation as it has been established." At the same time, the Chief of the UN Observers' Team in Lebanon, with parallel duties and functions to those of their comrades in Gaza and Sinai, reports that the peace of another troubled Middle East land has been restored and kept by the "United Nations' presence."

Has the world at last found a workable alternative to war—a way to stop aggression before it starts? The practically unarmed men who are safeguarding the peace of Gaza and Sinai may not have discovered the total answer to the whole problem of war, but they have won a major battle in the conquest of violence which may one day lead to the victory of the human race over its greatest enemy, WAR.

[See also "UNEF," page four.]



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# PEOPLE AND PLACES

PEACE NEWS—February 6, 1959—3

## AT THE HOUSE

WHEN the Rev. Michael Scott met me outside the House of Commons last week practically his first words were: "Such a pity there's only 24 hours in one day!" Consider for a moment his recent programme.

A visit to New York to plead the African cause at the United Nations, promptly followed by the All-Africa People's Conference in Ghana. Less than 48 hours after returning to England he's in jail for obstructing the building of a missile base. Nine days in prison over Christmas before a hectic series of public meetings, articles and letters for the Press, TV interviews and debates, committee meetings, discussions and answering a stack of personal correspondence. Then another 14 days in jail to prepare for the next round of lectures, university debates, interviews and TV. Somehow, despite all this, he's full-time Director of the Africa Bureau! And, of course, the 'phone never stops ringing. A parson's work depends on the size of his parish.

That day last week a well-known Labour MP had invited us to have a discussion with him at the House. As we approached the visitors' entrance the policeman on duty stepped forward to make his routine enquiry. Suddenly he recognised Michael Scott and his face broke into a delighted smile. "It's very good to see you back again," he ventured, "and you're looking very well for it, too."

Michael Scott would profit by borrowing some advice from another ceaseless worker for so many of these same causes, the late Reginald Reynolds. One of Reg's last letters (and he must have written thousands

in his 53 years) was to a friend observing that he was now so busy that he had to set the alarm clock to remind him when to go to sleep! But I suspect that Michael Scott never gets to bed anyway.

## WATER AND WEAPONS

THE news stories that we receive in London from all over the world are often sent at great speed in an attempt to keep PN readers up to date. Sometimes this means that fuller reports come into our office after we have published.

Last week, for example, we learned a little more about the Christmas Eve demonstration at the missile base near Lompoc, California ("The Charge of the Fire Brigade"). You'll remember that the pickets at the base were knocked down (and out) by freezing water from high pressure hoses of the U.S. Air Force Fire Department.

We now learn more details from a report by Alan Graham, one of the pickets. After two military cops were unable to understand why the pickets had no leader, the second "seemed struck dumb for a moment, then yelled: 'I order you off the base.'"

"The picket line," Alan Graham continues, "moved slowly on. He then screamed 'obey my order,' then a moment later shouted 'get out.' When he saw that no one was heeding his outburst he jumped into his car and raced off."

When later a second crew came up to work the hoses (the pumping trucks were there two hours) Alan Graham found himself facing a young negro lad with his hose ready to blast.

"I yelled at him, 'They hang your minority down South; are you going to obey your master and oppress another minority?'"

"The negro lad aimed his hose at the ground and kept it there until an irate officer raced up to him and screamed that he fire at our heads. The Negro lad then fired once or twice way over our heads and continued to spray the ground."

Another reminder that there's no knowing what the authorities will do when challenged, but it's good to see that some of them can't completely stifle their humanity. Incidentally, Church dignitaries might like to know that just behind the pickets at the entrance to the inter-continental ballistic missile base were three statues of the Holy Family—and they got a soaking, too.

## DAVID HOGGETT

FRIENDS of David Hoggett in many lands will be encouraged to know that his peace activities continue unchecked.

The accident over two years ago whilst work-camping in Austria that left him bed-ridden with a broken spine has damped none of the fire which took him from the army to the Bhodan movement in India and the international work-camps movement.

From his home in Cheltenham David has been organising local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament activities apart from keeping up with all his other interests. When Jayaprakash Narayan, the veteran Indian socialist-turned-land-gift-worker, toured Europe last summer, David Hoggett seized the opportunity and recorded his talk at Cheltenham. It has been widely quoted, and turned up a fortnight ago in the Californian philosophical journal "Manas."

## WAR CRIMINAL?

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL said in his news letter last week that he was not satisfied with a letter he had received from Germany.

He is still trying to find out just why the German Defence Minister called him a "potential war criminal."

Writing in his News-letter last week King-Hall said that an answer to an enquiry sent to the Ministry "evades the question."

It was in Regensburg that War Minister Strauss said in answer to a question about King-Hall and his study of unarmed defence: "I call everyone a potential war

criminal who tries to weaken the defences of the West and thereby strengthens the strategic position of Communism in the East."

Dr. Gustav Heckmann, distinguished educationist in Hanover, who was present when Sir Stephen gave his celebrated lecture on non-violent defence in Whitehall, replied with an open letter to Herr Strauss.

"King-Hall's plan for non-resisting defence deserves to be conscientiously tried out," he declared in the columns of the Hanover Presse.

"His plan demands from us exceptional courage and self-sacrifice, deepening of our democratic feeling, political leadership aiming at the abolition of causes leading to friction.

"Are the risks of his plan greater than the risks of atomic defence?"

"With this threat of yours you have taken a step whereby the one thing worth defending is already destroyed."

## ROUGH TREATMENT

THE Yugoslav Ambassador in London is to receive a visit this week from Arlo Tatum, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, and Stuart Morris, Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union (the British section of the WRI).

The pacifist officials hope to secure an improvement in the treatment of some 200 Yugoslav members of the Nazarene sect who are imprisoned as a consequence of their refusal of armed military service.

Last September Peace News reported that some of those who were prisoners on a kind of "Devil's Island" in the Adriatic were being bound together, thrown into the open sea, and being hauled out again half-drowned and unconscious.

Koca Popovic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, has replied most courteously to a letter from Arlo Tatum, according to a report in the latest issue of the War Resister, so the outlook may be hopeful.

Notable feature of the current "War Resister" is Arlo Tatum's report of his visit to Nigeria and the inaugurating of a pacifist movement there.

About 140 Nigerian war resisters gathered in Uyo for the inaugural conference of the WRI's 34th section, complete with a brass band.

Secretary-Chairman of the Nigerian section is Mr. C. A. O. Essien. It was largely due to his personal effort that 400 Nigerian men and women became convinced that war was a personal matter and that each of them had the power to renounce it and to set about finding non-violent solutions to colonialism, racial discrimination, religious persecution and economic injustice.

By the time Arlo Tatum left the country the numbers had grown to 700, with groups in Calabar, Ikot Ekpene, Eket and Itu which Arlo Tatum was able to visit.

In Calabar the membership includes two nurses, three policemen, traders, teachers, civil servants, a printer and a hotel manager.

This was a tough field-work job for an American; years of residence in chilly London did not provide the right kind of toughening up for hundreds of miles of travel by foot, bus, lorry, river launch and bicycle. His insistence on sharing whatever food and lodging was available for his colleagues Essien and Bademosi expressed the solidarity in a very practical way which pacifists everywhere will be feeling towards this rapidly growing new section.

## UNION RATES?

AMONG the correspondence which has poured into this office since the Swaffham demonstrations was an anxious letter from a mother who felt "that the demonstrators were very sincere people and really believed in the cause that they were willing to go to prison for."

However, she understood "from a reliable source" that some of them "were paid 5s. an hour to make a nuisance of themselves," and would we please say if this was correct, "as, if it is, when are we going to be able to support a cause that is really genuine and sincere?"

We are trying to trace "the reliable source."

—Phyz

## UP AND DOING

### YOUTH YEAR

TWENTY years of clinging on the rock face, up and down a bit, slipping badly once or twice, but never falling down. It's certainly been a marathon performance, but we've kept our eye on the summit—and 1959 could be the year we reach it.

Sorry, friend, this isn't mountaineering corner (how we relish those epic conquests!). It's Peace News sales we've got our crampons on, and it's UP we're going this year, because it's going to be Youth Year in the peace parade.

Those thousands of determined youngsters at Aldermaston. Swaffham testing their mettle, and proving it too. An almost spontaneous 300 out to march from Brixton to Holloway in protest against nuclear madness. Youth who are demanding radical, new and personal policies, youth who won't toe the old lines and are chary of the old orthodoxies.

Peace News is going out for them. In several universities big circulation drives are already under way. Pacifist Youth groups have increased in number and the next Aldermaston march will present a big opportunity.

Overseas or in Britain, octogenarian or teenager, WE NEED YOU ON THIS JOB. Don't let up in the struggle to save humanity from the final atrocity. There's one practical, simple, and most important job you can do now—

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## PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service  
3.30 p.m., SUNDAY, February 8  
FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE  
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Discourse—Antony Bates  
"The Grail"

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## A MATTER OF TRANSLATION

AS I write this appeal, Stuart Morris is touring West Germany, addressing eighteen public meetings in nineteen days, attending many informal gatherings, Press conferences and civic welcomes, and sleeping in a different place each night. This formidable programme is not made any easier by the fact that his speeches have to be translated into German.



It is never easy to inspire an audience through the medium of an interpreter, but when that interpreter begins to falter and stumble, or, worse still, if he thinks it part of his job to argue with and correct the speaker, the task becomes well nigh impossible. In spite of these obstacles, however, Stuart Morris reports good meetings and enthusiastic audiences, and by the time his tour is finished some thousands of people will have heard the pacifist message.

Readers of Peace News who have generously supported the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund throughout the years and continue to do so have one great advantage over Stuart Morris on his German tour. They can be quite confident that there are competent interpreters at Dick Sheppard House. We translate their money into paper and print in the shape of leaflets, pamphlets and posters; into the voice of speakers who address meetings indoors and in the open air all over the country; into conferences and meetings, demonstrations and poster parades; and sometimes into the small seed that falls on fertile ground and prospers in the heart and mind of a person who hears or reads and is convinced. Moreover, readers can be sure that so long as their help is forthcoming, this translation work will go on. Unlike indifferent interpreters, we never, never "dry up."

Headquarters Fund has made a good start this year. Please keep it supplied with material which can be translated into peace.

HILDA VON KLENZE,  
Dick Sheppard House.

Amount received to date: £65.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



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## A significant silence

THE most significant feature of Frank Allaun's article which appeared in last week's Peace News was not anything that it contained, but one very striking omission.

In an earlier article Frank Allaun suggested that there should be a determined campaign to get MPs to vote against nuclear weapons when the Service Estimates came before Parliament. He also said that, according to his calculations, there are 70 Labour MPs who want Britain to give up the H-bomb unilaterally.

We welcomed Frank Allaun's suggestion. At the same time we published a letter from Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in which he suggested that the 70 MPs referred to by Frank Allaun should unite in support of a motion or an amendment on the Ministry of Defence vote. Sir Stephen remarked—and we agree with him—that if some 70 British MPs were to vote in this way “the national and international consequences would be enormous and highly beneficial.”

In Frank Allaun's article last week there was not one reference to his earlier suggestion, to our comments on it, or to Sir Stephen's letter.

★ ★ ★

WHY is this? We will venture a conjecture. This is that the party Whips, or somebody on their behalf, have made it clear to Frank Allaun what will happen to him if he goes ahead with his plan.

The matter will be taken up with his constituency party and he will either not be adopted or he will not receive party endorsement when the General Election comes along. If he or his constituency party decide that he will contest the election despite this, an official candidate will be put up against him to destroy his chances. This happened to Sir Richard Acland in 1955.

If 70 MPs were to vote according to their conscience in this matter—and there can be no issue in which conscience is more deeply involved—it would not be possible for the Labour Party Executive to act as we have indicated; other means would have to be found to deal with the rebels.

★ ★ ★

TO get 70 MPs to act in this way, it is necessary that a few people will take the initiative. It is these that the Executive will put the real pressure on. It requires a great deal of political courage and a strong spirit of independence to ignore such pressure.

We have already made it clear that we understand and sympathise with the MPs who cannot square their views with those of the party caucuses and that we see the dilemma they are in.

We feel, however, that those who regard preparations for the H-bomb as preparations for genocide and who have campaigned against the H-bomb on these grounds have a clear duty in the matter. We have already stated that it is our view that where no parliamentary candidate will give a clear undertaking to vote against British possession of the H-bomb, the elector should withhold his vote.

If a sufficient number will act in this way there will be a strong counter pressure to the pressures exercised by the party caucuses.

★ ★ ★

WE have described something of the pressures that can be applied by the party caucus to prevent public representatives from acting in accordance with their deepest convictions on an issue that affects the future of humanity.

The voter can also bring pressures to bear if he wants. In our view the time has come to do this on as large a scale as possible.

As Mr. Michael Foot recently remarked in The Observer, party discipline has now become “an engine for suppressing or at least hiding the very questions which need most to be discussed.” Mr. Foot asks “are we to tolerate a situation where the major parties become more and more monolithically united to fight about less and less?”

We believe that what we have been urging—and what Frank Allaun was previously suggesting—is a way of saying No to Mr. Foot's question. The contents of Mr. Foot's paper up to a few weeks ago had led us to believe that he also had arrived at the same means of providing an answer.

## Mr. K's plan . . .

IF the West plays down the importance of the Soviets' new seven-year plan and pays insufficient attention to Moscow's persistent invitations to thaw the cold war, it will be crowning a lot of past mistakes with an act of super-idiocy; and the result is likely to be the same whether Mr. Khrushchov continues to hold supreme power in Russia or is displaced by someone else. Nor is it likely to be affected, if he holds his position, by whether he goes further ahead with the incipient liberalisation of the Communist regime or develops into a second Stalin.

Experience has shown that the various target plans announced by the Kremlin deserve to be taken seriously. If they have not always been fulfilled to the letter, neither have they, in general, fallen far short. Old people may remember that the first one was treated by the West as a hilarious joke—until the end of the five years brought two shocked realisations: the first, how much had been attained, the second, how abominably ruthless the means of that fulfilment had been.

Since then, with the first groundwork accomplished, the degree of target attainment of the various Soviet plans has steadily risen, and the ruthlessness involved in them has decreased, particularly since Stalin's death.

Today no one in the West, with the sole exception—and that a doubtful one—of peasants leading a primitively self-sufficient life on remote farms, can afford to treat the seven-year plan announced at the twenty-first Communist Party Congress with lack of respect unless he is completely self-centred and expects to be dead by 1966. For by then the living standards of everyone alive in the world will begin to be affected by the results of that plan.

## . . . a boast or . . .

HERE, mentioning only its most salient points, is what the Kremlin is now setting out to achieve by 1965:—

- to increase Russia's present industrial output by 80 per cent;
- to increase agricultural output by 70 per cent;
- to raise the per head real income by 40 per cent;
- to reduce the working week to 30-35 hours;
- to build 22,000,000 homes (flats);
- “to almost double” the capital investment of the past seven years;
- to achieve a two-thirds increase in the production of consumer goods.

Anyone so minded is, of course, at liberty to “write this off” as mere boasting, but before doing so he will be well advised to compare past targets with actual achievements and to bear certain significant figures in mind.

The present factory and office workers labour force of the USSR stands at 54,600,000; the number of higher educational establishments at 765 and of specialised secondary schools or institutions at 3,500, with a total of more than 4,000,000 students. The number of specialists with a higher or secondary specialised education employed in economy is approximately 7,500,000, and the total of men and women graduating as technical engineers is nearly three times that of the number thus graduating in the United States.

There are no labour troubles, not only because none are allowed, but also because the gradually rising living standards prevent the growth of serious discontent, and the dispersion over a vast territory of the country's industrial population (plus a highly efficient police system) precludes the formation of rebellious centres of any size. Nor are there difficulties about financing anything considered necessary to enhance production because there is no such thing as an appeal to private capital.

There is, moreover, no problem about labour mobility or immobility because, wherever and whenever it is thought useful to shift a necessary labour force to a given locality or area, or to switch workers to a different kind of work, the change is simply made—and the workers obey.

## . . . a challenge?

THE West's free enterprise system would in any case find it monstrously hard to compete with such conditions. It is making it unnecessarily harder by failing to do all it might do to render all its economic strength available for economic competition with the Soviets.

Instead, it persists in believing in Russian intentions of military aggression—when Russia's greatest need, it is plain to see, is (military) peace, so that she may shoot ahead of the free enterprise world in proving to Asia and Africa that the Communist system will lead them more quickly to the “good life” than that of the West.

There is not much time left for us to appreciate the facts of the situation. If the new Soviet seven-year plan gets anywhere near its targets, the West will not merely lose the battle for Asians' and Africans' minds.

It will also lose markets which are vital to its present living standards as well as sources of supplies to which it has become accustomed in their attainment. That is why everyone except peasants leading a primitive life on isolated farms is personally involved.

## Cyprus

THE news from Cyprus in the last fortnight has been most disappointing. The truce which EOKA initiated at Christmas had brought in the possibility of a new atmosphere in the island in which moves towards a settlement also became possible. Despite this truce by the resistance movement, however, the British troops have held another full-scale military operation upon which the military refused to comment until its conclusion.

According to Mr. Francis Noel-Baker, MP, on his return from Cyprus and Athens last Saturday night, this operation “is regarded by all Greek Cypriots as an act of gross provocation.”

There have been further serious allegations of violence by British troops. The human rights committee of the Cyprus Medical Association has said that “the extent of the ill-treatment, hardships, humiliation and suffering to human life cannot be described.” It alleged that some girls of the Agros area had been beaten naked and demanded to know how “old people, women and children came to be wounded.” It had examined about thirty injured.

Meanwhile, six weeks of talks between the Greek and Turkish Governments on their differences have not been fruitful, despite private pressure from Washington which wishes to strengthen NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The British Government appears to be going ahead with its intention of implementing the Macmillan Plan in the teeth of Greek Cypriot opinion, though it is not making its intentions very clear and appears to have little confidence in the Plan.

A mission from the World Council of Churches is believed to have started negotiations for the return of Archbishop Makarios to the island. It has been perfectly clear since last summer that sooner or later the British Government will have to allow Makarios to return to Cyprus for genuine negotiations, or it will be faced with widespread violence in seeking to foist its unpopular Plan upon its native subjects.

## UNEF

WE very much welcome Mr. James Avery Joyce's article on page two concerning the United Nations Emergency Force. This force is significant because its formation indicates an attempt to meet the desperate need for new ideas and new techniques to prevent disputes which today could precipitate the world's final catastrophe.

Whilst we echo Mr. Joyce's relief that the number of incidents on the borders of Israel and the Gaza strip has been cut greatly and tension reduced, it is important to consider some of the wider implications of UNEF's work.

The Emergency Force can only exist because it is tolerated by the Great Powers. We have recently seen in Lebanon what little respect the United States Government had for the UN observer force there when it didn't suit its interests. If the super-Powers wished, they could impose their own policies and “solution” for the area; as it happens, it is very much in their interests to keep the potential contestants apart in the Middle East.

If an incident suddenly unleashed another war in the desert it would present both Moscow and Washington with the major problem facing military pundits today: how can the nuclear Powers resort to violence without destroying the earth? The Great Powers are therefore acting in unison in support of the policing of this area.

If such an approach were attempted on a wider scale, however, with the necessary co-operation of the two Powers, we very much fear that the picture would be markedly different. Should Washington and Moscow agree not to unleash their weapons of obliteration, but instead to co-operate in further “policing,” we could readily see the disappearance of civil liberties in the face of concerted militarism.

It is this danger—the threat of a “peace” of the graveyard and the concentration camp—which is all too easily ignored by the supporters of “deterrents.”

## A wicked rumour

MR. A. J. BARNETT, a Norfolk florist, has used 2,000 flowers to make a model of a Thor rocket for a centrepiece at a dinner party at the US Air Force base at Lakenheath, Suffolk, reports The Times.

Rumours that an order for 2,000,000 flowers has been placed by the local undertaker are entirely without foundation.

IN PERSPECTIVE

## Votes and the Bomb "Prison and prospects"

### Labour and H-bombs

NATURALLY, Mr. Allaun wishes Labour's policy were unilateral cessation of tests, but, in fact, it is suspension of tests, to see if the US and Soviet Governments will follow suit. Even this policy is out of date, for the wicked Soviet Government suspended tests for some months and resumed them (as would Labour) when rival governments continued tests. But what has suspension of tests to do with pacifism or socialism? Even the Liberals go further than Labour and oppose making British H-bombs.

In 1945 I voted for a non-pacifist Labour candidate. Forgetting how Lansbury, Ponsonby, Salter, Hudson and other eloquent pacifists had failed to convert to pacifism a Labour Party which has grown increasingly militarist, I like so many pacifists then and now, wished a non-pacifist Government to implement pacifism. That was wishful thinking. Labour began the bases that make us No. 1 target in war.

They cheered "appeals for co-existence and peaceful example" at Scarborough, but what did they vote for? Weapons that lead to war. If there are 70 anti-H-bomb Labour MPs, how many said at Scarborough that they were anti-H-bomb and how many anti-H-bomb motions have they introduced in this Parliament?

We do need political action, but not for the lesser evil of Labour. It must be pacifist political action.—P. RICHARDS, Orpington, Kent.

### Black and grey

FRANK ALLAUN argues that we must work and vote for the Labour Party because it is not so immoral and suicidal as the Conservative Party. I think he is right, and I shall do so for that reason and because the issue of nuclear armaments and testing is so immediate and all-important, but it is surely a bleak outlook when one must choose between black and a dirty grey?—GWENDOLEN BARTER, Sea House, North Foreland Avenue, Broadstairs, Kent.

### 70 Labour MPs

IN his article in the current issue of Peace News, Frank Allaun proves that he has mastered the art of the cuttle-fish, which, when pursued, emits an inky fluid and escapes in the ensuing confusion. Please permit me to try and corner him.

Mr. Allaun asks us to place our trust in the seventy Labour MPs who are opponents of nuclear armament and many of whom are pacifists. But what is their record? When Mr. Gaitskell, in 1950, introduced the largest (peace time) arms budget in history, including provision for atom bombs, did the gallant 70 declare that they would sacrifice their political careers (and their salaries) rather than give their votes for atom bombs? By no means! On the contrary, they managed to suppress any qualms of conscience and, at the crack of the whip, voted for the budget, bombs and all.

Have these gentlemen since repented and made a firm promise of amendment? When the next Labour Chancellor introduces his budget, including finance for hydrogen bombs, what will be the reaction of Mr. Allaun and the gallant 70? The electors are entitled to know whether Mr. Allaun and company will vote for or against that budget. Please forget the cuttle fish, Mr. Allaun, and give us an honest answer.—E. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.

### Fellowship Party

RON HUZARD says Peace News cannot point to any alternative pacifist or anti-H-bomb party that is capable of exerting any influence. On the contrary, there are at least three parties opposed to the H-bomb: the Fellowship Party, the Christian Party, and the ILP. I cannot speak for two of these parties, but as a member of the Fellowship Party I can say that we shall contest as many seats as we can. I myself shall be standing in Dulwich in the borough council elections and shall welcome all and every kind of support from those opposed to nuclear warfare. I may add that the Fellowship Party campaigns against all weapons and all bases.

What influence Fellowship Party candidates and other anti-war candidates exert

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

will depend on what support Peace News readers give.

Those who dislike action of the Swaffhamite kind (and I do not, I admire it) might care to take some direct political action with the Fellowship Party.

Lastly, it is not true that "we can only back candidates of the party that is going furthest along the road we wish to go."

Is there not money enough in the pacifist movement, are there not enough COs to nominate and support pacifist candidates all over the country?—DENNIS CONABERE, 10 Zenoria St., London, S.E.22.

### PN and Swaffham

I REGRET the tone of the leading article "Prison and Prospects" in Peace News of January 23. I have always felt that though Peace News represented the radical pacifist approach, its policy was broad-minded enough to enable it to show respect for all types of pacifist thought. Now, apparently, unless the pacifist took part in the Swaffham action, or at least supported it wholeheartedly, he has no justification for calling himself a pacifist.

I suggest that the Swaffham group may have done a disservice to the cause of pacifism. I do not know, but neither, at this stage, do they.

The note of intolerance in the leading article reflects not the approach of the pacifist, but the approach of someone with a totalitarian outlook, whose contribution ought not to have been permitted to occupy the editorial column.—ERIC S. TUCKER, Secretary, Society of Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

We will concede that our defence of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War from its critics may have been too sharply worded, but we would suggest that what has been taken as a "note of intolerance" was actually a reference to the lack of charity in others.

Direct Action Committee spokesmen, so far as we are aware, have not made comments or criticisms of the work of other organisations and groups, but have concentrated on making clear their own particular contribution to the abolition of war and their desire to act in the spirit of non-violence.

We would assure our readers that we shall continue "to show respect for all types of pacifist thought."—[ED.]

### Two lessons

MAY I endorse what you say in your recent editorial on criticism of the Swaffham demonstrators? It seems tragic that they should have been derided by those who should be counted on for support.

As a more or less newcomer to the Peace Pledge Union, I am shocked and grieved at the petty arguments and differences which seem to beset the various peace organisations. Before making any headway in the non-pacifist world I believe we have two lessons to learn—one is charity and one is unity.

Our challenge in these uncertain days is a tremendous one—one in which we are encountering the displeasure of nearly all those in "authority." How can we assert it positively if we are perpetually divided among ourselves?

I would just add that I am not confusing pacifism with nuclear disarmament, but to deliberately miss the last train to Leeds because it does not go to Bradford is, to say the least, illogical!—C. TAYLOR, Hill Crest, Elloughton, Brough, E. Yorks.

### "Silence of solidarity"

I DO not think I can be accused of opposition to any but "the traditional methods of achieving pacifism." I did squat on the steps of the War Office in 1952, and was arrested; I did parade with posters and leaflets in Aldermaston at a time when we were not 300 but 30; I was one of twenty-one who, following the leadership of Hugh Brock and Tom Wardle, demanded at Porton—the Government's bacteriological research centre—to know exactly what was being done there in our name.

Nevertheless, I take strong exception to the Peace News leader, January 23, and to the article by Gene Sharp, January 30, both of which seek to "tick off" and silence all who question the wisdom of recent direct action demonstrations. To stifle opposition is surely more Stalinist than Gandhian

(Gandhi put truth, understanding and reconciliation before resistance). To stigmatise this questioning, shared by most of us, as springing from a "warped English middle class propriety, and a fear of offending," is far more likely to split the whole pacifist movement than to gain respect for direct action.

A demonstration cannot by itself convert or convince. It can, however, force thought on those, the majority, who for one reason or another, have struggled to evade the issue. And believing, unlike Gene Sharp, that we live in an age of humanity (it is the age of the Welfare State, Prisoners' Aid Society, Mental After Care Association, Family Welfare Association, National Assistance Board, etc., etc.), it is my conviction that if once this process is started, the climax, like that of a well-constructed play, is inevitable. The war preparations of today, whether atomic, bacteriological, napalm, or what have you, will be unthinkable. I believe that Direct Action may well be the one link—an essential and hitherto missing link—in the chain which will save humanity.

But please, please, Peace News, save us from "the silence of solidarity." It sounds so horribly like the grave.—OLWEN BATTERSBY, 80 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10.

Our editorial did not say that we wanted the "silence of solidarity": the number of contributions we have published for and against the Swaffham action surely reveals this. What we said was that THE DEMONSTRATORS might well have expected the silence of solidarity.—[ED.]

### Pacifists and tolerance

SYBIL MORRISON'S attitude to the behaviour of the Direct Action Committee is depressing. Her statement "that they have failed to convince me their tactics are anything but mistaken" (PN, Jan. 2) is just about as uncalled for as a non-Christian's assumption that anyone is mistaken to believe in God and Jesus Christ. A man does what he believes to be right according to his own conscience. Those involved in Direct Action can do no other, even if the success they deserve may not necessarily follow. It is unkind and irrelevant to say, "I am afraid that it may do more harm than good to the pacifist cause" (PN, Jan. 23).

During the war years and those immediately following it was precisely this negative attitude to Roy Walker's belief in the rightness of non-violent action, including the opposition of John Middleton-Murry (then editor of PN who later renounced his pacifist beliefs), which finally banished Roy Walker and his many followers from the PPU.

This lack of tolerance for the expression of all shades of pacifist thought within the Union is a damaging experience and one which justifies criticism from the non-pacifist who says "If pacifists can't live together, who can?"

To be fair to Sybil Morrison, I'll admit

that my own wartime teenage pacifism was bitterly intolerant of what seemed "the mutual admiration society" group activity consisting mainly of endless discussion amongst ourselves and ignoring the challenge and need to risk the discomfort of Peace News selling, poster parading, Family Service work, etc., etc.

Now I know that every type of pacifist approach contributes to a live and healthy whole, and all I ask is that each individual be encouraged to find and work hard for his own particular colour of this desperately essential task.

Finally, I must plead that those of us who refused to register during the war did not consider whether we were doing "more harm than good to the pacifist cause"; it was simply that to be true to what we believed we could do no other. It would have been blatantly dishonest of us merely to wait for the chance to act in terms of political expediency for the "good of the pacifist cause."

As a thoughtless extremist, therefore, I must apologise to Sybil Morrison (whose presence at those long past AGMs always delighted me) for not patiently stepping purely the persuasive path, remembering clearly the disgust and hatred I caused in the face of the Labour Exchange official of my own sex who furiously argued "Even the men register."—IVY HOLDEN, 3 Beech Hill Crescent, Mansfield, Notts.

### Non-violent coercion

I AM sorry for Kathleen Lonsdale that her letter was taken from its context and therefore conveyed a wrong impression. I appreciate her point in regard to whether or not coercion, as such, is wrong in itself, and have not fully made up my own mind on the question, though I think that I lean towards the anarchist view.

That, however, seems to me to have nothing at all to do with the hypothetical argument raised when Kathleen Lonsdale is so certain that I would interpose my body between an H-bomb rocket loaded with a warhead, if by that means I could stop it.

I want to make it quite clear that I am far from sure that I would do any such thing. For one thing, I am not particularly courageous, and for another, I do not think I should be prepared to sacrifice my life to stop one rocket when I knew that dozens of others would be launched.

Had the hypothetical "if" been that I knew by interposing my body I could abolish war, then I can only say that I hope I would have the courage to do so.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

### Swaffham

I AM deeply moved by all that is happening at Swaffham, and my wife would have encouraged all the Saints who suffer there to go forth courageously on their way. I am publishing a little memorial of her which will show you she was in "the direct line" that led to you and your friends.—JAMES HUDSON, 14c The Oval, London, S.E.11.

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST WORLD POVERTY

### Central Council for War on Want

TREASURER: Rt. Hon. Hilary Marquand, DSc., MP

Today over 140,000 Algerian refugee children and old people are adrift on the Moroccan and Tunisian borders. Many have died of disease and hunger. Unless help is given quickly, these unfortunate people—many of whom have fled from burnt villages—will perish. This is the time of the year when the weather is bitterly cold in North Africa. Many are adrift without shelter in desert and rocky country. Please help us.

### We are pleading for children dying of hunger

Your gift, small or large, will do God's work. We, on our part, give the pledge that not one penny will be deducted for expenses.

**CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR WAR ON WANT**  
**9 Madeley Road, Ealing, London, W.5.**

Space donated by Frank Harcourt Munning, Hon. Director for War on Want.



# His 'national service': building homes for refugees

From Mavis James

LAST month Raymond Thompson, aged 21, a conscientious objector who had gained conditional exemption from military service at his Tribunal last autumn, left his Cambridgeshire home to cycle to a United Nations work camp in Germany.

The camp, which was inspired by the St. Christopher Settlement, is building homes for German refugees.

His only assets are some items of clothing suitable for counteracting the Arctic conditions which he has been warned to expect, a very meagre sum of money, the said bicycle, and an unlimited supply of dogged determination.

Like the majority of humanitarian COs, it is unlikely that two years with the United Nations Work Camp will complete Raymond's "national service." For the sincere CO, the compulsion which urges him before a Tribunal continues to drive him long after the conscript has discarded his khaki.

## WORKING WITH IVS

The first Work Camp which he attended was run by International Voluntary Service. It was at a small village on the South Coast of England. The project was to convert a Victorian mansion into flatlets for old people, a project of which Raymond said, "It was very interesting. The old folk in this home would be able to look after themselves to a large extent, and not feel a drag on society."

## POWER FOR PEACE

International F.o.R. Conference

5th - 12th August. Austria £4  
Enquiries to I.F.o.R.  
185 Gray's Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.

## "PACIFISM IN THE COLD WAR"

February 28 - March 1

## WEEKEND SCHOOL

arranged by London & South East Areas Peace Pledge Union at

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, KENT

Friends Meeting House, Grosvenor Pk.,

Starting at 3 p.m. Saturday and 2.30 p.m. Sunday (Harrington's Cafe)

Speakers: Wallace Hancock, Allen Skinner, Stuart Morris.

Subjects: The Church's Responsibility; Political Survey; Non-resistance.

Chairman: Sybil Morrison

All Welcome—Particulars from: Myrtle Solomon, 6 Endsleigh St. W.C.1.

## Book these dates!

## F.o.R. CONFERENCE 1959

### Easter

March 26-31. Youth Conferences at Glynllifon, Nr. Caernarvon "Cyd Fyw" and Grendon Hall, Nr. Northampton "Living Together"

### Summer

August 1-9. Youth Conference at Hiatt College, Wellington, Salop "Age of Opportunity"  
August 8-15. General Conference at St. Mary's College, Bangor "Christians, Race and Equality."

Speakers include: Harold Dixon, John Ferguson, Harold Guite, Aaron Hobangwana, Leonard Hurst, Alan Knott, Fred Moorhouse, John Newton, David Owen, Wil Huw Pritchard, John Ryley, Roger Tate, D. R. Thomas, His Excellency the Tunisian Ambassador, Harold Wickings.

Details from:

**THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**  
29 Great James Street - - London, W.C.1.

The work was hard, but he felt that the new friends and ideas he accumulated were invaluable.

The following year he went to Switzerland. There he helped to build a roadway, high in the Alps. This was to help a small community who could not afford to build the road themselves.

The sight of men digging attracted the tourists, and Raymond would sit by the wayside with a cup in his hand to collect any gifts the tourists felt inclined to donate. "We never did get any money," said Raymond, "but often they would stay with us and help for a while. Their first question on reaching our party was usually 'Are they convicts?'"

The work on this site was very tough indeed. "Living conditions were primitive, but once again the thrill of seeing people of different nationalities working and laughing together was a tremendous encouragement to my faith in pacifist ideals," he said.

"This project made me decide that physical strength is the inferior of moral strength."

The strenuous work which followed months of normally hard work in the factory where I was employed left me in need of a good rest."

Even so, when the opportunity next arose, he had no hesitation in seizing it. This time it was a camp in Italy. He helped, alongside a group of English and Italian Methodists, to dig a reservoir. The work was again heavy, but the hours were shorter, and this gave more time for the social side of the camp—singing, discussing and sightseeing.

## NEW NAMES IN PACIFISM

THERE are new names in pacifism these days. The vast majority of them appear in the short list of 15 to 20 cases to be heard by the local Tribunals. John Garbutt, a 1955 Fulham Tribunal man, is now prominent with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Farley, Randle and Dixon, all of whom have hit the headlines in Peace News, and who now work or have worked on the paper, were all Tribunal young men. Graham, who hitch-hiked to India and walked with Vinoba Bhave, he, too, was a Fulham Tribunal man. Now there are more, and more, and plenty more, and of them—Raymond Thompson.

He is a normal, plain, honest-to-goodness working man, with a keen intelligence and a balanced understanding. That is why he is important to the pacifist movement.

"The pacifist's cry is very often, 'Why can't we get our ideas over to the working

man?'" Raymond explained to me. "The answer is that it is difficult to realise the sense of the pacifist's arguments without seeing them in operation. One of the best places to see them in operation is at a work camp."

"Yet if a person who is beginning to find an interest in the pacifist outlook decides to go to a work camp, what does he find?"

"He must either work in this country, and only listen to the experiences of his fellow-campers who have been abroad, or he must be ready, if he wants to go overseas, to lose a week's pay and find all his own travelling expenses."

"For many, the financial loss is too great, and there the matter rests." Nobody seemed to offer any help to those who were not churchgoers or students.

Until directed by the Tribunal to do other work, Raymond was in a factory. Here he had long conversations with his fellow workers, and many were on the fringe of beginning to understand his ideas. He therefore knows what he is talking about when he says that "there the matter rests," and "nobody seems to care if you are not a churchgoer or student."

I asked Raymond what he thought of the allegations which are sometimes made about COs.

"I call that 'Daily Press thinking,'" he replied. "The CO is not a coward, nor does he have a feather-bed existence."

"Personally, I served five years' apprenticeship in electronics. At the end of this time I was taken on as a sales representative. For this new job I need a greater knowledge of electronics than I now have."

"If I went into the forces I could receive all the training I need. I should also receive clothing. As for pay, although servicemen grumble, their pay is larger than the pocket money which it is possible to give to a full-time volunteer at a work camp. Too, as far as I know, there are no free vouchers for travel for COs."

"If the CO has such a rough time compared to a soldier, if he finds it so difficult to get his ideas over to the public, if he is ostracised and punished by relatives and friends because of the ideas which he holds, is there much to be said for this position which he adopts?" I asked.

"Of course there is. There is the knowledge that one has kept faith with the beliefs one holds. In my estimation, self-respect rates very high."

## POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE

"For the humanitarian CO there is the knowledge that he will be of use where he is most needed. Since he is able to put forward a positive alternative to military service by joining in a work camp or some similar work, he is half-way to being able to convince others of the sense of his ideas."

"Always providing he has the funds?" I said.

"Always providing he knows how to raise the funds if he hasn't them!" he laughed.

When Raymond Thompson appeared before the Kensington Tribunal his case went stiffly and was punctuated with several uncomfortable pauses until he was able to talk about his work camp experiences. He asked that if he were to be given exemption it should include work with the United Nations. This, coupled with the fact that the Tribunal had some difficulty in discovering that he was a Quaker (many Quakers are reluctant to gain exemption by stating that they are Quakers and reciting the Quaker Peace Testimony), considerably thawed the Tribunal. Their decision was unanimous, and he was ordered to the usual four conditions (land work, hospital work, forestry or food) plus the work for which he had asked.

Just before he left England there was a hitch in the plans. It looked as though he might have to wait some time before he could start work in Germany. There were floods, there was snow, and, given an official reason for not continuing, many a person would have been only too glad to postpone the day of departure.

"What are you going to do?" I asked this very ordinary, very typical, CO.

"Do? Why, I'm going! I was up until 2 a.m. last night cleaning my cycle."

## A holiday with 'friends in the movement'

SUMMER Holiday conferences continue to attract the members of many organisations.

The Independent Labour Party, with all 70 places booked for their Summer School in the Rhineland, have managed to squeeze in six extra people in an annexe.

Accommodation is still available in three more recently announced Fellowship of Reconciliation Conferences.

Two of them are Easter Youth conferences, one in Northamptonshire, at Grendon Hall and the other in Wales, at Glynllifon, Caernarvonshire. Both are on the theme "Living Together."

The FoR's Summer Conference, from Aug. 8 to 15 at St. Mary's College, Bangor on "Christians, Race and Equality," will have John Ferguson among the speakers. He will be home on leave from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

The Peace Pledge Union will be at the ever popular conference centre, Pantyfedwen, Borth.

## Conference in Austria

"Power for Peace" is the theme of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference to be held in Austria from Aug. 5 to 12.

Those able to get themselves to the lovely Schloss Trautenfels, at Steinach Ennstal, will find that they can stay in this lovely mountain setting for only £4 (including the conference registration fee of 10s.).

The Rev. Michael Scott, Dame Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, André Trocmé, the French pastor and leader of the French campaign against nuclear war, are on a list of speakers which includes:

Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, U.K.; Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Holland; John Nevin Sayre, USA; Abbé Croquet, Belgium; and the Rev. N. Smith, a Negro pastor from the USA.

There are 120 places available, most of which it is hoped will be filled by young people. A programme giving full details will be available this month from the IFoR 185 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

The Schloss is a Youth Hostel, so any hitch-hikers to Austria who arrive a few days before the conference begins or who wish to stay on afterwards will probably be able to stay the extra days quite cheaply.

The Chairman of the War Resisters' International, Harold Bing, heads the list of speakers on the National Adult School Union's programme of Summer Schools and Holidays. He will be speaking on "The Individual and the Welfare State", over the week-end April 11-12th at the Firecroft and Kingsmead Colleges, Birmingham. A leaflet giving the full programme which includes a two-week international holiday conference at the famous International People's College at Elsinore, Denmark, may be had from NASU, 35 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1.

## American plans

The American Friends Service Committee (20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.) and the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (Nyack, New York) can supply details of Summer Schools and Seminars in the USA.

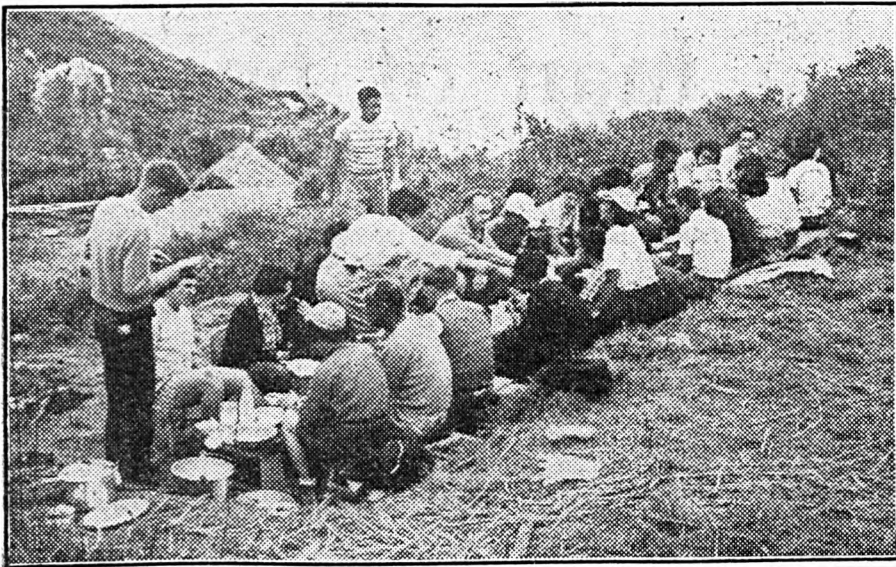
Servas (13 Wendover Road, Birmingham, 23) can provide those who have specific vocational or political interests with a chain of "open-doors" in fifteen countries where two nights' hospitality is available and opportunity provided to meet "peace builders" in Europe, Asia and America.

Finally the eyes of war resisters are fixed on December, 1960, when the War Resisters' International hold their Triennial Conference outside Europe. Many will be saving hard to make the trip to India for a meeting which will be a landmark in world pacifism.

## HOLIDAYS IN THE BAVARIAN ALPS

Lovely mountain village, 2,838 ft. up near the Austrian border. Excellent walking and climbing, winter sports. Unspoiled by tourist industry. Friendly home of British pacifist. Accommodation from 8s. 6d. Bed & Breakfast. Enquiries to Mrs. Elfrieda Besler, Hinterstein, 66 Allgäu, Germany.





A meal in the open at a Hong Kong work camp.

## WORK CAMP IN RUSSIA

By GORDON L. GREEN

This account of last year's work camp in Russia is abridged from *International News*. THE first international voluntary work camp in the USSR took place last July at Kupino in the Byelgorod Oblast, north of Kharkov.

The camp was organised on the initiative of Service Civil International, the responsibility being taken by the French branch who negotiated with the Committee of Soviet Youth Organisations in Moscow which represents 126 organisations and about 50,000,000 people. On the suggestion of this committee the World Federation of Democratic Youth was brought in as a

recruiting body. In all the camp had 68 participants from 19 nationalities—59 men and 9 women—from three organisations.

About half of the Russian volunteers knew at least one other language, and two of the SCI group spoke Russian quite well. Lectures and announcements were generally given in Russian, French, English and German, with extra translations into Spanish and Hungarian.

At the camp we had hot showers, arm-chairs and television and local women to cook, sweep and wash clothes. The food was plentiful, well cooked and somewhat monotonous.

### Building and farming

The main project was the building of a house to be used for evening classes in animal husbandry for the young "kolkhoz-niki." When the camp arrived the building was up to window level and in two weeks the walls were built and the roof laid.

Only about 20-25 people at a time could be employed on the building, so the rest were haymaking and harvesting.

The whole region knew about the camp. We were met by a crowd of about 2,000 at Byelgorod (a town of about 100,000 population) and visited a factory, a pioneer camp, another kolkhoz and a Palace of Culture. Something of the atmosphere of the Moscow Festival was carried on into the camp and the meetings with the local people, crowds, bouquets, speeches, and a continual emphasis on peace and friendship. Many of us found this overdone, even though the welcomes, whether organised or spontaneous, were warm and sincere.

Perhaps more valuable than the organised functions were the informal discussions with the Russians. A lot of controversial subjects were discussed, Hungary, pacifism, religion, and so on.

In the evaluation meeting at the end, the main criticisms were that the camp was too short, too large, too luxurious and too pre-organised. The Committee of the Soviet Youth Organisations have taken notes of these points, and it looks as if the next camp in the USSR, which is likely to take place in 1960, will be run on more traditional lines. In 1959 the Committee plan to sponsor some young Russians to attend camps in the West.

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Simple modern comforts. Affords peace-lovers opportunity quiet recollection. Vegetarians, Non-Vegetarians Book early. 5 gns.

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A welcome awaits you at **FAIRWYND'S VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE** Why not take an early holiday and enjoy the delights of DEVON in the spring. Mr. & Mrs. F. C. Burton, Wilder Rd. Tel.: 85. V.C.A. Member

### Vegetarian Handbook

new 1959 edition

The new edition contains up-to-date addresses of vegetarian accommodation in all parts of the U.K., Europe and many other parts of the world.

A useful feature is the "Food Hints for Continental Hotels" section, which presents, in six European languages, information concerning vegetarian requirements.

Other information includes addresses of Health Food Stores, Restaurants, Nature Cure Homes, Schools, etc.

Price 1s. 6d., postage 4d. from London Vegetarian Society, 32 Marloes Road, London, W.8

### NEWQUAY CORNWALL

Excellent for Early Holidays. Corisande Guest House, Pentire, Newquay. Bathing from house. Conducted excursions. Good food. Comfortable. Well recommended. Exceptionally good value. Brochure No. 4 free from Douglas Bishop, "Littlestone", Ashcombe Road, Dawlish, Devon. Tel. 2151.

### THE TOLDAS GROUP

stands for total unilateral disarmament and constructive peace-making. Write for further information to Alan Litherland, 16 Harlech Rd., Liverpool 23.

### QUAKER VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE

Charming Manor House set in a four-acre garden and orchard on the Southern slopes of the Cotswold Hills with beautiful view of Coombe Valley from the Terrace overlooking sloping lawns shaded by Lebanon Cedars. Ideal Centre for walking or touring or visiting Gloucester, Bristol or the Severn Wild Fowl Trust. Apply: Kathleen Keleny, Coombe Lodge, Wotton-under-Edge, Glos. Tel.: Wotton 3165.

### WORK AND STUDY THIS YEAR:

#### On the Continent, in the Middle East or at a British Children's Village

PLANS for spring and summer work camps in Britain, the Continent, Scandinavia and the Middle East are at present being made by UNA, Friends Work Camp Committee and International Voluntary Service.

In all cases even where dates are given arrangements are provisional only.

The United Nations Association (25 Charles St., London, W.1) has plans for camps in Europe and the Middle East.

In England about 100 camps are being arranged, half on work of assistance to refugees.

In Germany, a camp that started in Hanover last year is to restart on Feb. 1 and work through to August. The work is building houses for refugees and has been arranged by St. Christopher Settlement.

Five camps in Austria are intended: At Wegscheid, June 27—Sept. 26; Wels, Aug. 1—Sept. 12; Linz area, July 18—Sept. 5; and two in Salzburg: July 25—Aug. 29; Aug. 1—Sept. 12.

The programme will be house building for refugees.

Other camps are:

Two in Syria: Wagna: July 11—Aug. 29; and Kapfenberg: July 25—Sept. 5.

Two in Corinthia, South Austria: St. Martin, near Villach, June 27—Aug. 22; and Feffenitz, June 20—Aug. 15.

Volunteers are wanted for all camps, particularly persons of past experience to act as camp leaders. Volunteers who can speak German will be particularly valuable on the German and Austrian camps.

### In Poland and Britain

The Quakers are expecting to organise another camp in Poland where last year's was a great success, but volunteers will be expected to have had experience in this country. The camp is being arranged jointly by British and American Friends.

In Britain they are planning an Easter camp for volunteers over 18 at Mitcham in Surrey (March 26—April 4). The work will be painting and decorating rooms for old people with the possibility of a little gardening. It will be a workshop and study camp and the discussion theme will concern the under-developed countries.

For the summer no sites have yet been specified, but a decision will be taken about Easter. Schemes intended include three for the 16-18 year olds. The dates for these are expected to be July 25—Aug. 17, Aug. 1—24, Aug. 5—29. There are four for those over 19; July 3—17, July 11—Aug. 10, July 31—Aug. 9 and Aug. 1—31.

All enquiries about Quaker work camps should be directed to Alun Davies, Friends Work Camp Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. International Voluntary Service (72

Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1) have a large programme on hand.

In Britain they are planning an Easter camp in Hackney, London for a fortnight's work decorating flats for coloured people; in Danby, North Yorkshire, a mid-Aug.—mid-Sept. programme of road-making and fencing for a community of handicapped young people is being arranged; in Hull work is being planned on old people's homes.

In Battle, Sussex, in Aug. or Sept., a programme of work on the foundations at the British Pestalozzi Children's Village will be undertaken.

In Switzerland at Chevrens (Geneva) a camp for experienced volunteers will be preparing a football pitch for a boys' centre until March 31. Another camp for experienced volunteers is under way until May at Nice doing construction work.

### Elsewhere in Europe

Two spring camps are planned in Germany: Rittmarshausen-Goettingen from March 22—April 5, and Hamburg-Alsterdorf from March 21—April 12. The Hamburg camp will do road making at a hospital for nervous patients; the Rittmarshausen camp will combine work and study, the theme being the problems of the Middle East. A special invitation is extended to volunteers who have already served or hope to serve in camps in Israel and Lebanon.

A camp is planned in Holland during the summer, possibly two in Italy, one at Sauze di Cesana (Turin) in July and August.

Three camps are expected to be held in Norway. The one at Trastad will be from July 1 for five or six weeks, another in North Norway, probably near Torsken, will be for three or four weeks, while one in South Norway will be for three or four weeks in July and will consist of work at a youth centre or institution for cripples.

One of these camps, probably the Trastad camp, will do work-study on non-violence.

Other camps to be arranged are one from July 20 to the end of Sept. in Greece, one in Israel, one in Lebanon from mid-July—mid-Sept., for which volunteers should be free for several weeks and should apply before April 15, and a probable relief team for Tunisia, for which experienced workers, especially nurses and doctors are wanted.

In most cases with IVS camps volunteers are not required to have had previous experience of camps in Britain before being eligible for camps abroad.

Further information can be obtained from the organisations themselves. The magazine *International News* is published monthly giving information about work camps—5s. a year from Alun Davies, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

## VEGETARIAN HOLIDAY CENTRE

August 1st - 29th

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Charges: Adults 8 guineas (reduction two sharing); children from 4 guineas to 5 guineas according to age.

Full particulars from LONDON VEGETARIAN SOCIETY, 53 Marloes Road, London, W.8.

## PPU SUMMER HOLIDAY CONFERENCE

Panttyfedwen, Borth, Wales

August 15 - 22

Enjoy a grand holiday at a comfortable hotel adjoining sandy beach, with safe bathing and amid interesting surroundings. Day time free; discussions each evening on Aspects of Non-Violence.

Total charge (including conference fee and gratuities): Adults: £8 10s. 0d. Children (under 12 years): from £6 15s. 0d. to £3 15s. 0d. according to age.

Applications to Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

A deposit of 10s. (not returnable) should be sent with each application.



# Into Congress steps a man of peace

Two pacifists were elected to Congress in the recent U.S. elections. In the American weekly, the Nation, William P. Irwin described how Byron L. Johnson, a member of the National Board of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was elected, after a campaign in which Johnson's pacifism had become the central issue.

"For only the second time since Colorado entered the Union in 1876," writes Irwin, "the second Congressional district has sent a Democrat to Washington."

In 1932, Fred Cummings was swept into the House with the Roosevelt tide, only to be beached at the ebb in 1940. For 18 years thereafter, Republican William S. Hill of Fort Collins held the seat against all comers.

Hill's Democratic opponent in 1956 was Dr. Byron L. Johnson, a young professor of economics at Denver University. Johnson had come to the Denver area in 1947, after some years of federal employment, and become active in a host of civic ventures.

In 1956, Johnson entered the Congressional race in the Second District. After overwhelming his primary opposition and conducting a strenuous general election campaign, he was defeated by a margin of 14,000 in something over 200,000 votes cast. The district was still Republican, Democrats noted to one another.

At the Second District Democratic Assembly in Greeley, in July, 1958, three other aspirants for the job of U.S. Representative were by-passed to nominate Johnson without primary opposition. By now Hill had announced his retirement, and at the Republicans' primary, John Mackie, a "liberal" emerged victorious.

Adopting a Stevenson-like posture of "talking sense to the people," and working with the slogan "for a truly prosperous nation in a truly peaceful world," Johnson took the initiative throughout the district.

## 'Unfit to serve'

An opinion sample taken in the second week of October found Johnson running at 37 per cent, Mackie 36 per cent, and the rest undecided. It was still, most people assumed, a Republican district.

On October 24, eleven days before the election, the campaign took a startling turn at a debate sponsored by the Colorado State University chapter of the American Association of University Professors. Speaking first, and briefly, on the assigned subject of Congressional policies on higher education, Mackie turned suddenly to a direct personal attack upon Johnson, who had not yet been to the rostrum.

Labelling his opponent a pacifist and a man "unfit to serve as a Congressman," Mackie directed three questions to Johnson: Would he personally bear arms to defend his nation? Would he vote for military funds for preparedness? Was he a supporter of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation? Both a reporter and a photographer from the "Rocky Mountain News," 65 miles from home base, recorded the mêlée which followed. Higher education was promptly forgotten.

Responding with heat and confusion, Johnson said it was indeed true that he would not bear arms, but that he would vote for the United States to go to war if attacked. Juxtaposed on front pages of the Fort Collins "Coloradoan" and other Republican newspapers, the two unrelated utterances produced a startled and embittered public murmur: Johnson won't go to war, but he would send us!

## Headlines feature battle

In the next three or four days election news centred with sheer wonderment on the Second District, and even a bitterly fought "right to work" campaign in the state was momentarily forgotten. Headlines burst on Denver and across the state: "Mackie Labels Johnson Unfit as Pacifist"; "Pacifist Charges Enliven District 2 Congress Battle"; "Johnson Defends Pacifist Beliefs After Mackie Blast." Within hours, Republican gubernatorial candidate Palmer Burch had assaulted his opponent, McNichols, for appointing an "admitted pacifist" to his administrative staff.

Democratic workers faltered. Telephones began to ring in campaign headquarters and private homes throughout the district. "What about this character? What's he

trying to do to us?" Inquiries started to flow into offices of the Colorado Labour Council, AFL-CIO: "Is this the guy we endorsed?" and the party pros shook their heads. Johnson was dead. It was a damn pity, but he was dead.

## Refused conscription

There was no question, moreover, about Byron Johnson's position. For years his pacifism had been a matter of common knowledge (though only of mild interest) among his friends. Grandfather Lindberg had been the first Swedish Baptist minister in Minnesota back in the 1860s, and the pacifist tradition of the faith had been passed down to the boy by his mother, herself an active church layman. As a student at the University of Wisconsin, Johnson had become active in the Baptist Student Group and, in 1936, joined the student Fellowship of Reconciliation, a well-known and respected Christian peace movement.

After moving to Denver, the Johnsons joined the Congregational Church, and in time Byron had become Chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Colorado Conference of Congregational Churches. Work with the same committee of the Denver Area Council of Churches led, in 1957, to a vice-presidency of the Denver Area Council, and after some twenty years of membership, Johnson was elected to the National Board of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In World War II, Johnson was called by his draft board, to whom he declared his intention to register as a conscientious objector. Rejected on his physical examination and classified 4-F, his decision was overlooked. During the war years and before moving to the Denver area, he served, first, as a fiscal analyst in the Bureau of the Budget and, later, in the Federal Social Security Administration.

Few headlines, but occasional newspaper notices, accompanied Johnson's interests outside politics. It took five years of wrestling with sponsoring church groups, city councils, and various private interests to realise one major Colorado project—or dream, perhaps, as Mackie ads would have it. On July 18, the day before his nomination for Congress in 1958, ground was broken for 148 units of housing for the elderly. Evidence of the Johnson convictions had been scattered for anyone to see; among friends, even in the form of Christmas cards printed by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## New note of hope

By Monday, October 27, support for Johnson had begun to stir in the district. A wire from the American Association of University Professors in Fort Collins to both candidates stated that "deliberately questioning the patriotism and personal convictions of any man for cheap political purposes" is "reprehensible and obnoxious." A well-known district judge was quoted as calling Mackie "a trigger-happy kid," and newspapers, in news copy as well as editorials, began to question the propriety of the attack.

By nightfall of Oct. 27, the mood at Johnson headquarters changed perceptibly. Jangling telephones carried a new message, a new note of hope. Calls from Fort Collins, Limon, Wray and Holyoke, calls from a hundred people in the Denver suburbs, all indicated that the unexpected had begun to happen: Mackie's charges were backfiring. "Yeah, we got some money together out in the county; how about sending us some more ad. mats we can put in the local paper?" "Look, we just got up a new committee, veterans and a couple of ministers. Can you send us about 5,000 pieces of literature to mail?" "This guy just walks in—he's a farmer out south of town—and plunks down twenty bucks. Do you want us to use it up

here, or send it up to headquarters?" "I dunno, he just took off work and has been passing out Johnson stuff up and down town all day. Before? I don't think he ever knew the Democrats were around before."

By mid-week, the mail had begun to pour in, hundreds of pieces. Some contained money, but most carried words of encouragement.

On Wednesday, in the town of Loveland, 50 miles north of Denver, six ministers issued a statement of "firm conviction that neither pacifism nor militarism qualifies any man for holding public office." Reaction from the clergy, both in public and private, came from all over the district, and on Sunday, two days before the election, sermons in church after church were devoted to the subject. "It will be a tragic day in America," the Rev. Hyslop of the First Congregational Church of Greeley said that Sunday morning, "when any candidate is judged unfit for public office because of his sincere Christian convictions."

On Wednesday, the influential Greeley "Tribune" published an editorial entitled "Christian Principles No Disqualification." On Friday, the Littleton "Independent," another paper of prestige, devoted a long editorial to "A Sincere Man." By this time, advertisements were appearing in every daily and weekly in the district, sponsored by Yuma, Lincoln, Arapahoe or Phillips County Citizens for Byron Johnson. A three-column, fifteen-inch ad in the Boulder "Camera," the largest daily in Mackie's own county, accused the hometown boy of "contempt for intelligence, contempt for those who disagree with him, and contempt for religious ideas."

## War veterans' support

On October 30, Elliott Roosevelt, a resident of Colorado for some years, raked over Mackie before an unprecedented crowd in the farm town of Crook. "Well, Mr. Mackie, your party nominated Mr. Herbert Hoover as President of the United States. He was a Quaker . . ." In the last week of the campaign, Charles Brannan, former Secretary of Agriculture, spoke in Johnson's defence, as did U.S. Senator John Carroll, former Senator and Governor Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado Supreme Court

Justice O. Otto Moore, Retired Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, and President Edward Dahlberg of the National Council of Churches, who happened to be in Denver at the time.

Coincidental gatherings of the Colorado Friends Service Committee and National Convention delegates of the United Church Women, both in Denver in the last days of the campaign, focussed wide attention on Johnson and the religious issue.

Finally, on Monday before the election, a committee of overseas veterans for Johnson published advertising in dailies over the district: "We have seen war," it related, "and know its terrible cost." And on election eve, using television time bought with last-minute contributions, four multiple Purple Heart veterans and the state's only civilian Congressional Medal of Honour winner appeared before the public on a pacifist's behalf.

By eleven o'clock election night it was clear that the improbable had come to pass: Johnson had won by almost 15,000 votes.

## Miraculous sign

In what proportion the ingredients of victory were mixed can never be known. It was a Democratic year, no doubt about it. But here Republicans had weathered Democratic years before, or lost by smaller margins to Fred Cummings in the Roosevelt period. It was a year, too, of the "right to work" campaign in Colorado, which brought out unprecedented numbers of both union and non-union wage workers to vote "no." Most of these, undoubtedly, pulled Democratic levers in the ballot booths.

But it was more than that. It was a tough, resilient, feverishly enthusiastic organisation of both professionals and amateurs that had too long been denied the fruit of their work. Johnson headquarters on election night saw men with tears in their eyes who had driven for that moment through four, five or six successive election years.

It is probable that Byron Johnson would have won without John Mackie's strategic mistake, perhaps by 5 to 10,000. That the charges did not destroy him, however, is a seemingly miraculous sign that the public mood of doubt and fear that stifled non-conformity in the post-war decade has in part been dissipated.

# PACIFISM AND TARIFFS

By W. H. Marwick

A previous article in December by W. H. Marwick, a lecturer in Economic History at the University of Edinburgh, gave a somewhat critical account of the European Common Market, and of the proposals to supplement it by a Free Trade Area in which Britain would participate. Support for the attitude expressed comes from an unexpected quarter. The President of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce observed: "The implications of the European Free Trade Area are political as well as economic; a Europe in two camps would not be a happy state of affairs or a good augury for the future." (Scotsman, Dec. 23).

Negotiations for the establishment of the wider Free Trade Area were eventually frustrated and the Common Market came into effect on New Year's Day. All states not in the Common Market will be confronted with the tariffs which are to operate against non-members.

THE present situation affords an opportunity to consider more generally the question of tariffs and their relation to pacifist thought and policy.

The tariffs which were common in the 17th and 18th centuries were partly fiscal in aim, to raise revenue; partly protectionist, to foster native industry. These objects are logically incompatible—either goods are kept out, in which case no revenue is obtained; or they come in, and compete with native products. In practice, a compromise has usually been achieved, sometimes euphemistically described as a "scientific tariff."

Of more importance is the underlying

conception. The old Mercantilism, denounced by Adam Smith, regarded the economic interests of States as conflicting; trade was a form of economic war, in which one gained and the other lost. Hence the ethical criticism of Cobden and Bright, with their belief that trade was essentially a co-operative process, in which both parties gained. This rather simplified view has fallen into disfavour because of its association with laissez faire capitalism: "buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market."

## FREE TRADE

British capitalists who formerly supported Free Trade as a means of reducing competitive costs turned Protectionist when Britain no longer enjoyed competitive advantages in production. It is now recognised that in the international, as in the national sphere, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" can be ensured only by some degree of conscious economic planning.

It remains true that the Protectionist outlook is bound up with that of power politics. This was recognised by List, the prophet of German economic nationalism, who said "War is but a duel between nations, and restrictions on free trade but a war between the powers of industry of different nations," and went on to compare the scrapping of tariffs to the scrapping of armaments.

This is further illustrated by the part played by commercial rivalries, and exploited by the Chamberlain "tariff reform" campaign, in stimulating animosity between German and British before World War I. Incidentally, the campaign made great efforts to enlist the support of trade unions

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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, February 6

LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 6.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Celebrations for Wilfred Wellock's 80th Birthday. All welcome. PPU and PN.

Sunday, February 8

LONDON, W.C.1.: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse: Antony Bates "The Grail."

Monday, February 9

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Anyone interested in Peace welcome. PPU.

GUILDFORD: 7.45 p.m. Co-op Hall, Haydon Place. Michael McNamee, Counc. Josephine Carter, Toni Cooke. CND.

Tuesday, February 10

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. 19 Newark Croft, Sheldon. Members meeting, PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Councillors M. F. Wilkins and R. W. Russell "Labour's Peace Policy." All welcome. PPU.

Wednesday, February 11

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute (Cafe). Mr. H. A. Beaton, M.A., on "The Work of the United Nations." PPU.

Thursday, February 12

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Stuart Morris "My Visit to Russia." PPU & For.

RUISLIP: 7.45 p.m. Ruislip Manor Meth. Ch. Hall, Ickenham Rd. Dr. D. G. Arnott, Nicolas Malleson. CND.

Friday, February 13

LONDON, S.W.18: 7.30 p.m. 13 Elsenham St., Southfields. The Vedantic Outlook by Swami Ayyakantananda; "Work." Vedanta Movement.

LONDON, W.2: 8 p.m. Small Porchester Hall, Paddington. Philip Noel-Baker, MP. CND.

WANSTEAD: Grove Hall, Grosvenor Rd., Dr. Peter Astbury, Francis Jude. CND.

Wednesday, February 18

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends Institute, Frederick St. Geoffrey D. Carnall, Denis P. Barritt "The Mid-European Situation." For.

Thursday, February 19

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest." Windmill Hill. "Living in a Community" by Maurice Harford. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Laurence Allen "Kathleen Ferrier" with Gramophone Illustrations. PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd. Christopher Farley on "After Swaffham—What?" PPU.

Saturday and Sunday February 28 and March 1  
TUNBRIDGE WELLS: Friends Mtg. Ho., Grosvenor Park. PPU London and SE Areas Weekend School. "Pacifism in the Cold War." 3 p.m. Saturday: Wallace Hancock, Allen Skinner. 2.30 p.m. Sunday: Stuart Morris. Chair: Sybil Morrison.

## Pacifism and tariffs

● FROM PAGE EIGHT

against the "unfair" competition of low-paid foreign workers. This plea was most successful in Australia, against the "yellow peril."

Tariffs have come to be almost taken for granted in the last generation, and even the Liberal party is hesitant about demanding repeal. A plausible case may be made for safeguarding vital industries, and even for artificially bolstering up others, because of the unemployment or other social consequences which their decline would entail. But the use of tariffs is a singularly inept method of achieving it, and is popular only because the chief gain goes to the vested interests of capital and labour involved in any particular case.

The common allegations as to "dumping" are particularly absurd; even in these days of automation, commodities do not swim or fly into this country; they are imported and distributed by human beings, who do so only because they expect to make a private profit thereby. If for any reason deemed justified, it is felt undesirable that any such should be imported, the sensible course is to prohibit their import. It is doubtful whether, on any impartial investigation, a case for this could often be established.

The Manchester Guardian (Dec. 4) envisages as a probable outcome of the Common Market the establishment or acquisition within its bounds of enterprises under American or even British control. This method of circumventing tariff barriers has become familiar in this country, and it is rather curious that it should be favoured by champions of economic nationalism. Production may indeed employ native labour, but control and profits go to foreigners. This suggests the question of distributive as against manufacturing costs, which, especially in its relation to inflation, is a major economic issue of today, but one too large to be considered here.

It may, in conclusion, be suggested that in their preoccupation with "exploitation at the point of production," economic reformers, as experience of nationalisation indicates, have given inadequate attention to exploitation in exchange.

## The zone of silence finds its voice

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I THINK the first book I ever read about Africa (except for Rider Haggard's school-boy stories) was E. D. Morel's "Red Rubber." I still have the feel of it in my hand, paper-covered, large red type on white. It was an exposure of the barbarities from which the people of the Belgian Congo suffered.

Before Morel's exposure Roger Casement, then British Consul in the Congo, had denounced the slavery and cruelty from which the Africans suffered, when the Congo was the private estate of Leopold II. His despatches caused so great a scandal that the Belgian Parliament appointed a Commission of Enquiry. Its report largely confirmed what the Consul had written, and Leopold had to sell out his personal colonial possession to the Belgian Government.

### King Leopold annexed it

How did King Leopold come to possess this vast estate in Africa? The explorer Stanley interested him in the Congo on returning from his historic expedition in 1877. Leopold sent Stanley back to do deals with the Chiefs, annexed it, and spent his Royal fortune in the exploitation of its rubber—and its people.

To be just to Belgium, following E. D. Morel's exposure the administration of the Congo has in some respects been better than that of any colony in Africa. The conditions of living around the mines and the plantations have become the best on the Continent. Wages have been comparatively high, housing estates modern, medical services efficient, and schools more adequate than anywhere in Africa. Under Catholic influence, the women received children's allowances before we introduced them with our Welfare State in Britain!

Don't let it be thought, however, that all Belgian Congo is an economic paradise for its 12,000,000 Africans (Europeans 100,000). There are 30,000 unemployed in the towns. When one leaves the scenes of industrial development, there is typical poverty in the villages which stretch across Central Africa to the Sudan, Uganda, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia. The immigrant labourers from eastern Congo working on the Gezira in Sudan and the cotton farms of Uganda are as ill-fed and clothed as any people I have seen anywhere.

There has been a strange sequel to the Belgian method of education. It has been more widespread than anywhere in Africa, but it has had an unusual feature: the teaching has been given in the language of the main tribes, not in the language of the European colonists.

### Paradox of Colonialism

This would appear good in principle. It has been an African education in its medium if not in its content. The consequences, however, have undoubtedly delayed the emergence of a political movement for independence.

In the first place, there has been no common language crossing the tribal frontiers. A realisation of national unity has thus been made difficult. Secondly, the Congolese have not come under the influence of democratic ideas in Western Europe.

It is a paradox of Colonialism that whilst the European powers have denied democracy to Asian and African peoples, the political philosophers and internal democracy of those Powers have inspired the colonial peoples to struggle for self-government. Hume and Mill influenced India's early Nationalists, Laski tutored many of Africa's present leaders, Gide moulded thought in French colonies.

The use of European tongues in colonial education has also meant that a proportion of students have come to British, French, German and American Universities. They

have returned to their territories to become leaders.

Students have not left the Belgian Congo for the Universities of Brussels, however, because they have not been taught the language of the occupying race. Instead, they have gone to Universities in the Congo itself, a Catholic University and a State University. No doubt they have learned here some of the ideas of European democratic philosophers, but they have not had the contact with democracy in practice which makes ideas dynamic.

It may be that Belgian Congo will be more truly African when self-government is achieved because its education has been in the African medium; but meanwhile political progress has been less.

Indeed, the Belgian Congo has been known as "the zone of political silence" in Africa. We have heard rumours from time to time of spasmodic claims for political rights, of emerging political movements, of arrests and deportations. But there has been little knowledge, little contact with the freedom movements in other African countries. It is significant that the Congolese leaders were unaware of the recent Pan-African Conference at Accra until the delegates from Central Africa arrived in Leopoldville on their way to Ghana. It is indicative of their zeal that some of them decided immediately to attend and made their way across the frontiers illegally.

Only in the last two years have the Belgians extended any political rights to the Africans. They have permitted the election of local Councils, with limited power, in African locations in the large towns. Leaders of the recent National Emergence have come from among the Mayors and Councillors.

### Ancient Kingdom restored?

The Belgians should have foreseen that African education would inevitably bring a demand for African rights. It is a reflection of the situation that A.B.A.K.O. (The Association of People of the Lower Congo) which has suddenly appeared as the Nationalist spearhead should have begun as a cultural and ethnic organisation; but its leader, M. Kasavuba, had political ideas, no doubt, political intentions from the first. He dreamed of the re-establishment of the ancient Kingdom of Loango, which centuries ago included the French Congo and sections of Portuguese West Africa.

This is not entirely Utopian. The French Congo lies the other side of the River Congo. Its people are of the same tribe, and associations are intimate. On the French bank political rights exist and a Republic (federated at present with France) has been declared. The Prime Minister, Abbé Fulbert, shares M. Kasavuba's aim of the re-birth of the Kingdom of Loango, and they work closely together.

In other parts of Belgian Congo Nationalist movements have also arisen. In the south-east at Elizabethville, the National Congolese Movement, led by M. Lumumba (who was at Accra), is strong. In the north the Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa, led by M. Boganda, is influential. On January 4, when the disturbances began in Leopoldville, most of the African groupings united in the Congo National Union.

Belgian Congo's progress towards self-government and independence is likely to be rapid. Belgium understands that if her rich economic resources are to be safe an understanding must be reached with the Congolese. Adult suffrage is to be introduced this year for local councils. Six district councils will be elected a year hence. A General Council of Congo and a Legislative Council are to be set up. Segregation and racial discrimination were made illegal on January 1, 1959.

The Belgian Congo is no longer the zone of silence. The African revolution is irresistible.

PEACE NEWS—February 6, 1959—9

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### MEETINGS

ALFIE ("ARMY GAME") BASS in person on laughter on screen and TV. Chaplin films. 9th Feb. 7.45 p.m. Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth Street, W.C.2. 3s. 6d. Screen Viewers' Panel. All welcome.

### HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

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### PERSONAL

GARDEN CATALOGUE. Post free from R. Rule, Seedsman, Shirley Terminus, Southampton.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

HIKE THE FILM of the Rocket Site Demonstrations. 30 mins. 15s. Full details from Eric Walker, 154, Corbyn St., London, N.4.

PEACE THROUGH PERSONAL. Friendship Stamped envelope for details. European Friendship Society, Olney, Bucks.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leics.

YOUNG MAN, AMERICAN, 25, Vegetarian-Pacifist; good-natured and intelligent; desires correspondence with young lady of similar views, preferably in America, with view to marriage. Box 804.

### LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

PERSONAL SECRETARY to the General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to deal with his correspondence, visits and meetings, preparation and reporting of Committees, etc. Competent shorthand and typing and readiness to use tape recorder is necessary. This is vocational work amongst Christian pacifists. Immediate application invited to the General Secretary, F.O.R., 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

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WRITING WORK OR Agencies wanted by Author and Writer Ted Milner, 8 Mill St., Cambridge.

\*\*\*\*\*

### Every week!

#### SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.  
LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

#### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

#### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

#### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.  
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## 600 at film marathon

Peace News Reporter

**APATHY can be beaten! People can be stirred! The great value of films as a method of arousing interest and imagination was well demonstrated at Friends House, London, last Saturday when a marathon six and a half hour film session attracted about 600 people to the large Meeting House.**

The Friends Peace Committee showed a series of films on war, atomic energy, race relations, refugees and the war on want, and there was also a delightful film for children.

The new film of the recent missile base obstruction near Swaffham by Direct Action was constantly interrupted by applause from a previously silent audience.

The purpose of the show was to interest local groups in arranging their own film shows or films with a speaker.

Among those present last Saturday were representatives of 64 Quaker meetings, 38 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament groups, 18 United Nations' Association branches, 12 Fellowship of Reconciliation groups, eight co-operative organisations, eight other peace organisation, five film societies and two trade unions.

A new booklet has been prepared by Francis Jude, Field Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, giving an extensive list of films, tape recordings and exhibition material available for hire.

This 28-page guide is the group secretary's passport to a crowded meeting. It sets out all the information required and costs only a shilling.

The booklet, entitled "Educating for Peace," is available for 1s. 4d. post free from: Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

The film of last year's Aldermaston March will be shown at the Academy Cinema from the end of next week. The film was made by the film group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

"La Grande Illusion," one of the greatest of anti-war films, will be shown in the same programme.

## Briefly

Roger Mayne, several of whose photographs have appeared in Peace News recently, is holding an exhibition at the A.I.A., 15 Lisle St., W.C.2. The exhibition begins on February 5 and continues until the 25th.

H. S. L. Polak, imprisoned with Gandhi in early non-violent resistance actions in South Africa, died on Sunday aged 76.

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## A WORKING HOLIDAY?

And without pay? What an idea! But you should try it. Thousands of men and women will be spending their annual holidays this summer in voluntary work camps in all parts of Europe. Reconstruction of villages damaged by floods will again play an important part in the programme.

Write for information NOW to the British Branch of Service Civil International:

International Voluntary Service,  
72 Oakley Square, London, N.W.1

# What happens if H-missile is launched in error?

## MINISTER QUESTIONED IN THE HOUSE

**IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON WEDNESDAY, JAN. 28, FRANK ALLAUN ASKED THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AIR IF THE INTERMEDIATE BALLISTIC MISSILES NOW BEING INSTALLED, AND ABOUT TO BE INSTALLED, IN GREAT BRITAIN CAN BE RECALLED OR BLOWN UP IN MID-AIR IF DISCOVERED TO HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED IN ERROR.**

The Secretary of State replied that procedures for handling and control of these missiles are such as to ensure that they cannot be launched in error.

Frank Allaun then asked if it was not a fact that if they were launched in error there would only be fifteen minutes to discover the error, a far shorter time than was available when American bombers launched in error against the East, were recalled over the Pole? Would the Minister consider the Labour Party proposal that no

further steps should be taken to build these bases until a fresh attempt had been made to negotiate with Russia at top level?

The Secretary of State said he would not. He had already assured the House that handling procedures are such that these missiles could not be launched in error.

In a second question Frank Allaun asked the Secretary of State who had the final decision over launching the missiles now being installed in Great Britain.

Mr. Ward's reply was that the decision to launch these missiles would be a matter for joint decision by Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government.

Frank Allaun asked what this really meant. Was it not obvious that Parliament would not be consulted? There would not be time even for the Cabinet to jump into their taxis. As Mr. Dulles had said, the decision would have to be taken by the military commander in the field on the spot. In view of the recent public poll, which showed that a majority of people were against the bases in any case, would the Minister stop work on them?

Mr. Ward again said No. The decision to launch the missiles would be taken in exactly the same manner as was laid down in the arrangements for taking decisions under the Attlee-Truman agreement.

SYBIL MORRISON

## NO QUARTER!

*It is a most dangerous heresy to suppose that international law rests only upon Conventions. Respect for envoys, the granting of quarter, the sanctity of women and children and non-combatants, and the prohibition of the use of poison in warfare all rest upon the slowly established customs of civilised man. If there has in recent years been a tendency to disregard customary international law, that is only a mark of the degeneracy of modern statesmen and their advisers. Only barbarians poison their enemies.—W. Harvey Moore, The Observer, February 1, 1959.*

**THE** argument that civilised man has gradually managed also to civilise war has a very odd sound in the retrospective light of obliteration bombing, the use of the atom bomb, and of napalm.

Granting of quarter to a fallen enemy may have been usual in previous centuries, but in the twentieth century "unconditional surrender" not only over-ruled any chivalrous ideas of granting quarter, but in fact shouted for all to hear: "NO QUARTER."

Women and children and non-combatants in recent wars of this century certainly received neither quarter nor sanctity when bombs rained down on their homes and themselves.

Mr. Harvey Moore, who is an international lawyer of repute, lays the blame for this over-throw of so-called civilised rules, which he sees as merely a "tendency (my italics) to disregard" them, on degenerate statesmen and their advisers. The use of bombs and radio-active fall-out upon the populace he designates as degenerate; the use of germs he denounces as barbaric.

The subtle difference between the barbarism of letting loose plague germs and deadly microbes, and the degeneracy of letting loose radiation sickness and radio-active dust to cause leukaemia, may possibly be lost upon those who have suffered from this terrible aftermath of atomic bombing.

It is clear that neither conventions nor international law carry any weight when the question of winning a war is paramount. All these weapons and these methods are produced and carried out not because statesmen are necessarily degenerate and evil, but because they and the majority of the populace believe in war, and because of that belief keep in existence armies and arsenals. Relying, as all nations do, on using these armies and arsenals under certain circumstances, they must naturally pre-

pare for them to be more effective than any potential enemy.

If victory depends upon giving no quarter, as clearly both Hitler and Churchill believed, then barbaric methods will be used, and indeed have already been used. It was often said when bombs first fell on Britain that only a barbarian like Hitler would use such methods; nevertheless, when it was a question of defeating the enemy, the leaders of the Western Powers did not hesitate to use obliteration bombing and the atom bomb, and in Korea that horrible petrol-jelly weapon, napalm.

It is starkly manifest that it is reliance on war that has brought mankind to this almost incredible horror, a horror at which imagination revolts, and before which ordinary reasoning breaks down. It is this loss of imagination and reasoning which has brought perfectly intelligent men and women to a position where they can not only argue that these infernal inventions are a deterrent to war, but that it is possible to use them and *not* be designated a barbarian.

To decide that people should die from plague rather than cancer, and incurable fevers rather than blast and burns, is not the only barbarity; a far worse atrocity is that people should be induced and compelled to kill each other at all, let alone in this hideous way.

Plainly, whether it be Conventions or International Law which nations contravene, there is, as yet, no real condemnation of the basic cause of twentieth century barbarism, which is war.

It is accepted because people have been indoctrinated to accept it; when it comes to war civilised man is no longer civilised, but for a time must become savage, unrelenting, tyrannical and cruel. War demands this and compels it; war is the enemy and the only real one. The one solution is to oppose and abolish it.

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## VOTERS' VETO

● FROM PAGE ONE

Britain, but while we are occupied by Americans with all these weapons and plans I do feel the peril for this country is very real indeed," he said.

### British influence

Mr. E. E. Redhead, MP for Walthamstow West, said there was agreement in the Labour Party that they all wanted to see the end of nuclear weapons, but also a few differences of opinion as to how this could best be achieved.

Mr. J. Stewart, prospective Labour candidate for South Norfolk, did not agree with Lord Wise. He felt if they asked the Americans to leave, then Britain might lose what influence it had with the Americans. He felt as long as there was some measure of co-operation regarding the armed forces Britain might be able to exert some influence with America.

Lord Wise's reply was that we had precious little influence at the moment, and had to do what was dictated by America. After all, America and Russia could reach each other with these missiles without bringing Britain into it at all.

Other questions ranged from Government policy in regard to secondary modern schools to the Labour Party's election policy. In contrast to the situation at Downham the previous night, when the audience numbered virtually nil, Swaffham provided quite a large and enthusiastic gathering. Mr. A. V. Hilton acted as question-master.

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